

# The Republican.

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TO EDWARD POLHILL, TOBACCONIST, SOUTHWARK.

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SIR,

Fleet-street, June 15, 1826.

I do not address you as the unsuccessful candidate for a seat in the House of Commons under the cry of "No Popery;" for I think "No Popery" a cry to be approved of, under its strict definition; particularly, if the Pope's People would set up the counter cry of "No Protestantism" and all join in the cry of "NO ESTABLISHED PRIESTS, NO RELIGIOUS TAXES." You would have passed from the bustle of the election to your retirement unnoticed by me, if you had not, from that hustings, made a foul attack upon the writings and character of Thomas Paine. While I have noticed your defeat in striving to represent the decaying bigotry and the ignorance of your neighbours, it may be well to mark the circumstance, that the cry of Church and King will never again be successful in this country, where there is an election among a large body of the people. You have attempted it, you have reviled Thomas Paine; but you have been hooted back to your business, to vend your filthy tobacco and snuff among the filthy religious people who use such articles, and have been told to be content with that station among the people of this country. Though the election in general produces in me but little of excitement and observation, looking for no good among such a small body of electors so easily bribed, I cannot but rejoice to see the men who have stood forth conspicuously to persecute me rejected by that small portion of electors. Henry Chas. Sturt, I see, rejected at Poole, his immediate neighbourhood, and a preference given to two strangers! This in some measure verifies the view I took of that man, while under his insults and his assaults in the Gaol of Dorchester. William Cobbett, I am sorry to see it, is rejected at Preston; for, though I wish his real character to be well known, I wish also to see him in the House of Commons.

To come to the particular subject of this letter: I find, in the "The Times" newspaper of Wednesday the 14th inst., under the head of a speech from you on the hustings, the following remarks:—

*"He was happy to say, that, during the whole course of his*

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*canvass, he had not heard one word uttered against him; and if he were to follow the example which had been set him by his opponents, and were to address them respecting his own family, he could state many things which would be highly gratifying to them; indeed, one individual of his family had, by his writings, contributed most materially in counteracting the moral poison of that miscreant Paine."*

A pretty boast! When the works of Paine are triumphant, when, in spite of all the persecution which the government of the country could raise against them, they are become the best selling standard books in the country. And pray Mr. Polhill who is this member of your family, that has counteracted the moral poison of Paine? If his name be Polhill, his counteractings have not come in my way during my seven years struggle for an open vending of the works of Paine, and I had thought that every thing of the kind had been thrown in my way. Pray send me a copy of what one of your family has written, that I may rescue it from its present obscurity.

Were the works of Thomas Paine more generally read, there would be less of those brutal scenes among the people, which the present general election has produced. They who read and can understand the works of Paine become a species of moral philosophers, who stand aloof for the present and participate in none of those political scenes by which men and women disgrace themselves. The readers of the works of Thomas Paine are now the most quiet, the most moral, and the most orderly part of the people. Though ripe for a political revolution, when it can be brought about, and ready to assist in whatever can tend to bring it about, they are above mingling with a mere mob-like cause, they neither join the advocates of popery, nor of popery. The works of T. Paine will finally produce a political and moral revolution in this and in every other country on the earth. It may be a work of great time, but it is no less certain than the return of the seasons. In America, the thing is done, and Europe is fast ripening for it. Between forty and fifty years ago, the *No Popery* cry, detestable as a cry of Protestantism or religious party, endangered London; but now all the *No Popery* cry that you can raise in Southwark excites no other attention on this side of the Thames than the newspapers procure for it. It is a waning cry, and the desperation of a few only that preserves it. And as to a murmur at the works or principles of Thomas Paine, you may as well murmur at this overheated atmosphere, or at the sun for its power.

Had they who polled for you at the Borough hustings been readers and admirers of the works of Thomas Paine, it would not have cost you a thousand pounds each day to bring them there, provided that you also understood and acted upon the principles of that unjustly calumniated man. Thomas Paine was a new feature in the creation or succession of mankind, and lived for the

purpose of giving man a new character. Following the steps of that great man, and going further where I see it useful, I join in the instruction, that man, in general, though in nowise physically superior to any other animal, though he is born, fed, and dies upon the same principle with every other animal—yet he has the capacity to make himself, or to be made, morally superior to every other animal. On your side, while man is taught that he is physically superior to every other animal, that he does not in reality die as an identity; but that there is eternal life and sameness for him, you render him morally inferior to every other animal, and the use of the filthy things which you sell helps to make up that distinction of inferiority. Tobacco and snuff are both physical and moral poisons; but the writings of Thomas Paine are every way calculated to elevate the character and condition of man, and to make him the most admirable thing on the face of the earth. His present aggregate character is that of being the most detestable thing on the face of the earth, and the effect is due to the inculcation of those political and religious principles which you seek to preserve.

Let your present defeat in Southwark be a lesson to you; let my situation and this letter be a lesson to you; see the works of Thomas Paine triumphant, from their intrinsic merits, their sound principles; and learn, that, if you wish to make a figure in the country, now or hereafter, *you must candidly examine the principles of all men, and cull from each that which is good.* To join in a mere mob-like cry, to respond to the clamour of the ignorant, or prejudiced, or interested ruffian, is not the way to obtain the solid and lasting respect of good men, nor the way to obtain political respect from a community in this age. So be more wise, and farewell.

RICHARD CARLILE.

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#### PRESTON ELECTION.

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MR. COBBETT has no chance of succeeding at Preston; and seeing this, he is beginning to quarrel with every person about him. I attribute his failure entirely to his bad moral reputation. Were he a man of good character, were he honourable, with his ability as a public writer, he would command the respect of every man in the country. Now there is no man, knowing Cobbett, who can associate with him and continue to respect himself. Cobbett has repeatedly said, that, sooner or later, he shall be called upon to assist in putting into order the disordered state of things in this country. At present, there is not the least probability of such a circumstance; and he errs because he thinks more of himself than any other person thinks of him, and because he will be dishonourable in his actions, and seek public esteem on that rotten base.

R. C.

TO MR. CARLILE, FLEET-STREET, LONDON.

SIR

Yarmouth, June 12, 1826.

WHILE the contents of my former paper are fresh in the minds of our readers, would you oblige me with a refutation of the following reply to your observations?

1. Is not the Epistle addressed to Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, by Ignatius, A. D. 107, a sufficient proof that Polycarp was born in the first century, and was Bishop of Smyrna in A. D. 107?\*

2. You say, the authority of Eusebius and Irenæus, uncorroborated, is not to be relied upon. But, is it uncorroborated? Nay. There is data in the epistle itself, that it was written by a contemporary to the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul. It remains for Mr. Carlile to shew that they were not martyred in A. D. 67 or 68; which events are corroborated by the heathen historians Tacitus and Suetonius.

3. Your third note may be properly answered by the following parody thereon: Mr. Ward, in his letter to Mr. Carlile, No. 13, Vol. 13, of "The Republican," has shewn, what that learned gentleman cannot disprove, that Josephus was a Christian and a Christian writer within the first century.

4. Here you deny that the Christians were identified with the sect of Judea, the Gaulonite, and inquire "might not the Romans have designated the Jews generally as Galileans?" I dare Mr. Carlile to shew, first, that ancient Latin writers have designated the Jews generally as Galileans; secondly, that the primitive Christians were called Galileans. Will not Mr. Carlile condescend to answer my arguments in each paper upon this subject? Favour me with a reply to that beginning with—"Now, then, if Christianity had not a Jewish origin," and what follows to the end of that paragraph. As to there not being sufficient evidence for the facts of Christianity; I challenge Mr. Carlile to shew more evidence for the existence of any person living in the first century, than I have shewn for that of Jesus Christ. I farther challenge him to shew more testimonies of authors who lived before A. D. 300, to the genuineness of any writing from the first seventy years of the first century, than I have shewn for those three Epistles of St. Paul.

I am, Sir, yours most respectfully,

J. G. WARD.

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\* Make Polycarp a martyr in the year 167, and a Bishop in the year 107, and ask yourself what sort of a persecution that could be which allowed a man to be sixty years a Bishop? And what must have been the age of Polycarp at his martyrdom?—R. C.

## TO MR. RICHARD CARLILE, LONDON.

Wigan, county of Lancaster,  
June 9, 1826.

DEAR SIR,

I FULLY appreciate your writings, both political and theological, believing your most ardent wish is, to humanize and ameliorate as much as possible the now degraded state of the generality of mankind.

You, in company with your associates, have unmasked the hydra-headed monster, Religion, and divested it of much of the baneful influence by which a great portion of Europe had been enveloped, something like the one shilling God, in clouds of thick darkness, &c. ; but go on, dear Sir, and shew to the world, that the powers of the mind cannot be shackled, that religion has no "solace or comfort to bestow;" not doubting but that you will meet with a due reward from those who are and will be enlightened.

I have for a considerable time past been an admirer of your and your associates' works, and fully concede to the rational arguments you adduce in support of your very laudable and praiseworthy proceedings, not from any novelty contained therein, or a foolish, bigotted zeal, or a partiality to any of the actors, but from a thorough conviction in my own mind of the invaluable truths contained therein.

Having prefaced this much, I shall feel highly honoured if you would insert in your most useful "Republican" the following plea or justification why I became and am now belonging to a Lodge of United Odd Fellows; for upon reading No. 16. Vol. XII. of "The Republican," you have made what you term an exposure of Odd Fellowship, consequently, as a Member of that Society, it behoves me to offer something in justification of my attachment to the said Order. I shall therefore be as brief as possible; and first, it will be necessary to inform you, that the Lodge of which I am a Member is composed of men who, generally speaking, are of sober and steady habits, having united for the express purpose of mutual assistance in sickness, death, birth of children, or any other calamity which may at some time or other afflict them.

When I attained the age of 39, I deemed it prudent and necessary to enter into some Sick-Club or other, in order that I might derive a benefit, provided sickness or some similar affliction should attack me; and upon looking round, I felt disgusted with the several Sick-Clubs in and about this neighbourhood, for the following reasons:—After a Member had contributed towards the funds of his Society for a number of years, had become aged, and

very likely to become a needy Member, then up starts a majority of young men of the said Club, and finally break up and divide the surplus cash in hand among all the Members, and form themselves into a distinct Club, to the exclusion of all the old Members; consequently, the aged and perhaps infirm Members of the Society are thereby cast upon the benevolence of a few charitably disposed beings, or, if sickness should attack them, upon the disagreeable alternative—the parish. Thus this act of the young Members obliterates all the contributions and fund which the now aged Members had for several years been amassing, in the confidential hope of receiving a suitable return when sickness overtook them, or, at least, a coffin when death seized their bodies. These, then, and a few minor considerations, induced me to attach myself to such a Society of men as were most likely to remain more stable and permanent than the Sick-Clubs I have just been describing.

And in order to elucidate the matter more clear, I hereby affix the rate of relief allowed a Member of this Lodge, viz. Should a Member have been twelve months in the Lodge, and regular, and fall sick, lame, &c., he will be entitled to receive eight shillings weekly, provided he owes no more than six shillings to the stock; and upon the birth of his child he is entitled to receive ten shillings and sixpence; upon the death of his child, one pound one shilling; upon the death of his wife, six guineas; and upon his own death, eight guineas would be paid to his legal representative. Moreover, should it so happen that his Mother Lodge breaks up, he has a power of transferring himself to any other Lodge under the union, and after a lapse of twelve months, becomes a regular Member, and entitled to all benefits in conjunction with the rest of the Members of that Lodge: therefore, I think, dear Sir, you must allow that these are considerations and motives to be preferred before the generality of Sick-Clubs. Again, the following species of relief is very useful, viz. when a Member from any other Lodge is upon travel seeking for employment, calls at the house where such a Lodge is held, if upon minute examination he is proved to belong to the Order, he becomes entitled to receive some pecuniary assistance, to enable him to proceed onward. It therefore behoves the Brothers of the Order to be as circumspect as possible in examining such traveller, and thereupon judge whether he is worthy of such assistance, or whether he is actually of the Order or not; now, this cannot be done but by certain words and signs, consequently, were these “words and signs” disclosed to mankind in general, it is evident to me, that a number of evil-disposed persons would practise imposition upon the different Lodges, and, of course, the means of relief would daily diminish, insomuch, that the contribution paid in, or what would be requisite, would amount to a serious sum, and finally sink under the pressure of excessive relief.

As for an ostentatious display of the various articles of regalia through the public streets of a town, I must be so candid as to say, it never met with my entire approbation, and perhaps it would be better, if the money a procession costs was applied to a more useful purpose. But I have generally found through life that good is most frequently accompanied with a mixture of evil.

However I am now too far advanced in years to meet with acceptance from any other society (being in my 43d year), therefore presume I must remain where I am at present, and while it is conducted on the broad basis of philanthropy, it will answer my purpose, or until some more eligible mode can safely be adopted.

These, dear Sir, are the sole reasons for adopting this society in preference to others of a similar kind, therefore your kind compliance in giving them publicity, and amending punctuation with any grammatical errors you may fall in with, will much oblige, dear Sir, your constant reader,

P. F., a P. M. N. G.

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## WAGES.

TO THE WORKING PEOPLE AND THEIR EMPLOYERS.

(From "The Trades' Newspaper of Sunday, May 14, 1826.)

A SHORT time ago the attention of the working people was called to a little book, intended for the use of their children, called "The Child's First Lesson, in Spelling and Reading, by Margaret Earle;" a book superior to any that had ever been printed, and equally well adapted to every class of society, notwithstanding it was written expressly for the working classes.

Another little book has now made its appearance, not for the children of working people, but for the use of the working people themselves, and their employers. Its title is, "*An Essay on the Circumstances which determine the Rate of Wages, and the Condition of the Labouring Classes*, by J. R. M'Culloch, Esq." It is published by Mr. Tait, bookseller, in Fleet-street, London, and Wm. and Charles Tait, Edinburgh, price ONE SHILLING. It would be difficult either to say too much in praise of this little book, or of Mr. M'Culloch for having caused so very valuable a treatise to be brought within the reach of almost every working man. The book contains 117 pages, and as much reading as is usually comprised in an ordinary octavo volume which sells for five or six shillings. It is evident that the expences of getting up this little book can never be paid, unless a very large number should be sold. But when it is considered that it contains information which cannot be otherwise procured but at a considerable expense of money, and a more considerable expense of time, and that the number of persons interested in being well informed on the subject on which it treats consists of several millions, it would be a libel on the age to suppose that it will not have a most extensive sale.

The book is divided into nine sections:—

Section 1. Treats of the rate of wages, as they depend on the amount

of capital appropriated to the payment of wages compared with the number of labourers.

Section 2. Comparative increase of capital and population.

Section 3. Natural or necessary rate of wages; effects of fluctuations in the market rate of wages on the condition of the labourer.

Section 4. Disadvantage of a low rate of wages—advantage of a high rate of wages.

Section 5. Different rates of wages in different employments—circumstances on which they depend.

Section 6. Combination Laws—repealed in 1824—impolicy of these laws—voluntary combinations ought not to be suppressed—one set of workmen should be prevented from obstructing others.

Section 7. Friendly Societies—Saving Banks—advantages thereof.

Section 8. Poor Laws.

Section 9. Education.

If workmen are wise they will contrive the means of obtaining this little manual, so that every man among them who can read and reason may possess a copy. This may be done in many ways: those who can afford it, may purchase a copy at once; those who cannot, may club their pence with their fellows, as is done in Bible Societies, until every one has his book—a penny a-week from twelve men will purchase a copy weekly, two-pence a-week two copies weekly. Men in workshops might put down their sixpences, and, at a fortnight's end, buy a book for each: and no doubt the publisher would sell them in half-dozens and dozens for less than a shilling a copy. Masters employing a number of workmen could hardly do any thing more useful to themselves, as well as to their workmen, than purchasing a number of these books, and giving them or selling them to their most intelligent workmen. It has been observed that this is a book likely to be as useful to the masters as to the men, and it may be assumed as a circumstance sure to occur, that every-master who reads it, as well as every intelligent workman, will recommend its perusal to others.

It is not possible, within the limits of a weekly newspaper, to analyze the contents of a book so condensed as this is, or to point out with effect the many subjects it embraces and explains. It may be fairly said, that nothing is omitted that has a bearing on the subject. "The causes of rent, the operation of the Corn Laws, the principle of population, the accumulation of capital—the causes which elevate and depress the people—those which regulate profits and make them high or low—and the blessings of education are only some of the important subjects here managed by the hand of a man equally master of the subject, and desirous, by his elucidations of it, to do the greatest service to millions of his countrymen.

There is one thing, however, which has operated on the author, to an extent which may appear hardly warranted by the premises.—This is fear. The essay was written in the autumn of last year, when considerable apprehensions were pretty generally entertained that an attempt would be made to induce Parliament to re-enact the Combination Laws, or to pass some law to coerce the working people. There were, or had lately been, several extensive strikes, and violence had in some places been committed, particularly in Gloucestershire; these proceedings seem to have led the author to express his approbation of the restrictions in the late Act relating to combinations a little too strongly, and to attribute a little too much to the misbehaviour of the workmen. But even these matters will not, by the eyes of many good and sincere friends of the working classes, be looked upon as blemishes. These faults are, however, as nothing in com-

parison with the many excellences of the book, and now, when all fear that the Parliament will again resort to coercive measures, and workmen have come to a right knowledge of the law, and know how to conduct themselves under it, these matters may be allowed to pass without further notice.

Great prejudices have prevailed on the subject of wages, simply and only because it was not understood either by the masters or the men; henceforth it will be a shame and disgrace for a man to be ignorant of the subject, and he who may either talk or write respecting it, will deserve no reply,—no, nor any notice of what he may say, unless he has made himself master of the contents of this invaluable little book.

F. P.

### A NEW SONG,

*Translated from the French of De Beranger.—Vide Chansons de Beranger.*

SAINT Peter lost one day of late,  
The keys of the Celestial Gate,  
(The story's really curious);  
'Twas Martha Gunn who bathed the King, X  
Cribb'd the keys of which I sing,  
"I shall pass,  
For an ass,  
Give me my keys!" said Peter, furious.

But clever Martha, in a crack,  
Flung the doors of Heaven back,  
(The story's really very curious),  
Saints and sinners, fools and wise,  
Ran pell-mell into paradise.  
"Why, I shall pass  
For a precious ass!  
Give me them back!" said Peter, furious.

All in a cluster you might view,  
A Turk, a Protestant, a Jew,  
(The story's really very curious);  
Besides a Pope, the Lord's anointed,  
Who else had been to hell appointed.  
"I shall pass  
For a precious ass,  
Where are my keys?" said Peter, furious.

The Atheists, whom Martha Gunn  
Saw with sorrow hither come,  
(The story's really very curious),  
By dint of impudence and pushing,  
Got the best and softest cushion.  
"You make me pass  
For a precious ass,  
Martha! my keys!" said Peter, furious.

+ See Notes & Queries Vol. XXI. p. 403.

Moses, the Jew, and Mahomet,  
Shook hands, exclaiming, "friend, well met!"

(The story's really very curious).

John the Baptist took a clair,  
Tête-à-tête with vile Voltaire.

"I shall pass

For an ass,

Give me my keys," said Peter, furious.

In vain the priests began to rant,  
"God should not be so tolerant!"

(The story's really very curious).

Methodists and Deists, too,  
Thanks to Martha, all got through.

"I shall pass

For a precious ass!

My keys! my keys!" cried Peter, furious.

Tom Paine called out—(that sad blasphemer)—

"Sing to Martha, our redeemer."

(The story's really very curious).

Even the Devil they welcomed in,  
And made a horned Saint of him!

"Why, I shall pass

For a precious ass,

Where are my keys?" said Peter, furious.

Heaven receiving every nation,  
Suppresses Hell by proclamation;

(The story's really very curious.)

Satan's cooks have lost their post,  
They'll never get souls to roast!

"I shall pass

For an ass,

Martha! my keys!" said Peter, furious.

Wicked *Little Tommy Moore*

Voted psalm-singing a bore—

(The story's really very curious.)

So Rowland Hill, that mad old parson,  
Gave out the *hymn* called "Nancy Dawson!"

"Alas! alas!

I am an ass!

Woman, my keys!" cried Peter, furious.

All kinds of sports are now begun,  
And Peter wants to join the fun,

(The story's really very curious.)

But those whom he once doom'd to burn,  
Now shut him out in their turn.

"O Martha Gunn!

What have you done?

Adieu my keys," roared Peter, furious.

G. W. GRADDONS.

## THOMAS PAINE'S BIRTH-DAY ANNIVERSARY

(From the New York National Advocate.)

Was celebrated on the 30th January, 1826, at Harmony Hall, by a respectable number of citizens. After partaking of an excellent dinner, provided by Mr. S. Young, Mr. Offen was appointed to preside.

Mr. Offen addressed the party in a short but comprehensive manner, shewing the great advantages of a Republican form of government, founded on fair and free representation, over the Aristocratical and Monarchical systems, and contrasting the fickleness of the ancient Republics with that of the firm and energetic character of our own. He took a view of the services of the late Thomas Paine in the American revolution, which contributed so largely towards its accomplishment. Mr. O. concluded by exulting in the nation's gratitude to the departed and surviving patriots of that great struggle.

The following toasts were drank; a number of songs were sung; and an address was read by Mr. William Carver in his usual style:—

"Fellow-Citizens—We are met this day to celebrate the birth of the most extraordinary man to which modern times have given birth. He loved the political welfare of his species with an ardour bordering on enthusiasm. His zeal for their political regeneration was most conspicuously displayed in this country, by the production of the work entitled "Common Sense," in which work he plainly shewed that all kings were tyrants, and that Monarchical Governments called to their aid the power of Priestcraft—by this diabolical union, they have for ages robbed the people of their rights and privileges that God and Nature had endowed them with—thanks, immortal thanks to Thomas Paine—that he has so powerfully attacked the fraud of Kingly and Priestly Governments. Who, my fellow-citizens, caused the kings or crowned ruffians of Europe to form what they impiously call the Holy Alliance? The writings of Thomas Paine, whose writings have illuminated mankind more than all writers of ancient and modern times—the more they are viewed the brighter they shine.

"Shall we, then, fellow-citizens, neglect to celebrate annually the birthday of that noble departed child of Nature—we who are the real lovers of liberty, and who are at this time enjoying that liberty that he so ardently contended for? Forbid it gratitude—forbid it patriotism, common sense, and justice. May we all recollect, that he devoted the whole of his time and talents to the attainment of two objects—the rights of man, and liberty of conscience.

"Thomas Paine justly remarked, that of all tyranny, religious tyranny was the worst. What rational human being can blame Thomas Paine for writing his "Age of Reason" to expose the folly of believing in the dogmas of Priests and superstition. I have often admired the conduct of those venerable patriots that signed the Declaration of the American Independence, that they separated the Church from the State. The Priests of the present day have made several attempts to unite them, but their mischievous plans have all failed, and as long as the people hold the power in their own hands, and venerate the constitution, Church and State will remain separate—but should the people give up those rights that God and Nature have endowed them with, they will soon find themselves under a double despotism.

"There never was known such a disinterested writer as Thomas Paine—the whole of his works he gave away for the benefit of mankind. He was offered £2,000 sterling for the copyright of the "Rights of Man." Dr. Buchan said to Mr. Paine, 'Give it up to them; I presume the Government wants it, and you can write another under a different title.' Mr. Paine answered the Doctor, and said, 'that might do for others, but it will not do for me; I wrote it for my countrymen and the world to see, and they shall have it.' Thus he parted with the whole of his works, without making one cent by them.

"Fellow-Citizens—I cannot quit the subject without some further remarks on the political works of Mr. Paine during the American Revolution. At that time he published a work, entitled "The Crisis," in 15 numbers. At the time the work made its appearance, the armies were disheartened and destitute of provisions and clothing, without either shoes or stockings, and were about to abandon the cause and return to their homes—those numbers were read to the soldiers by their bold patriotic officers, which stimulated them to persevere in the noble cause in which they were engaged. Mr. Paine told them, that the more privations and hardships they endured for the present time, the greater honour and glory would redound to them by the future victories they would obtain over their enemies. In his letter to Lord Howe, at the time that Philadelphia was in the hands of the British, he told his Lordship that he had chosen a snug place for head-quarters, and that he marched the army round and round the city, but that he was afraid to go further—which put him in mind of a puppy dog running round after his tail, but never could overtake it. I would recommend every American citizen to be in possession of the works of Thomas Paine, and particularly the young citizens, whose minds are not possessed of rooted old prejudices; they should hold those works as a text book for themselves and their children. If science continues to make such rapid progress as she has for the last century, bigotry and superstition must fall. The celebrated David Hume said superstition and priestcraft would fall in the nineteenth century. Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, and Chemistry are the only true comprehensible Trinity—all others are fiction and fable.

"Let us, fellow-citizens, extend the sphere of our utility, and invariably adhere to true Republican principles, fearless of despots and tyrants of all descriptions."

#### TOASTS.

1. The memory of the immortal Thomas Paine, founder of the American Republic, whose powerful pen caused all the crowned heads and priests of all countries to tremble.

2. The memory of Benjamin Franklin, Joel Barlow, and Elibu Palmer—the departed great luminaries of thought of the American nation.

3. The memory of General Washington, and his departed companions in arms—that boldly fought the battles of their country, and obtained those liberties that we, and future generations, will live to enjoy.

4. The health of Thomas Jefferson—the venerable, long-trying patriot, the philosopher, the able statesman, and the friend of man—May his latter days be as serene and happy to himself, as his labours have been beneficial to the present generation.—Three times three.

5. The health of the Honourable Dewitt Clinton, Governor of the state of New York—the ornament of his country—the boast of his countrymen—the philosopher—the able statesman, and the friend of the human race.—Three times three.

6. The health of Richard Carlile, of London, the bold and dauntless champion of liberty—The friends of free discussion have abundant reason to rejoice that he is liberated, after six years' imprisonment, for publishing Thomas Paine's "Age of Reason," and Elihu Palmer's "Principles of Nature."—Three times three.

7. John Quincy Adams, President of the United States—Had it not been for the principles of Thomas Paine, practically enforced, which he called worse than worthless, he would not at this moment be the elected chief of ten millions of freemen.

8. General La Fayette at home—When toasting the worthies of this country of his adoption, may he not forget the man whose pen stimulated the one, and assisted to give freedom to the other.

9. "Common Sense"—The effect of which upon the public mind was electric—in six months after its appearance, the Declaration of Independence was signed.

10. Liberty of Thought, Speech, and the Press—the birthright of man, the dread of tyrants.

11. Simon Bolivar, the bold General and Patriot, the enemy of the oppressor, the friend of the oppressed—May he protect his country against Priestcraft as well as against Kingcraft—Three times three.

12. The Printing-Press, the watch tower and guardian of the people's rights—May it never fail to sound the tocsin of alarm when those rights are invaded by their servants—May the conductors of the Press never be biassed by interest, fear, or superstition, but advocate free discussion on all subjects.

13. May the time not be far distant when the whole world shall be one universal Republic, and men regain their long lost rights and liberties, of which they have been robbed by kings, despots, and tyrants.—Three times three

#### VOLUNTEERS.

By the Vice-President.—The liberty of the people against the tyrants of the earth.

By Mr. Smith —May the principles of Thomas Paine be planted in the centre of the earth, and its branches extend from pole to pole.

By Mr. Baggot.—*Turkey* well roasted and basted with *Greece*.

By Mr. Taylor.—May the torch lighted by the pen of Paine, burn until the whole world is illuminated.

By Mr. Hogbin.—The admirers of the principles of Thomas Paine—may they never want energy and courage in a *good cause*.

May the land we live in always be free from excisemen.

The meeting was composed of respectable citizens. The greatest harmony prevailed. The meeting broke up between the hours of 10 and 11 o'clock, each one being highly gratified with the entertainment, and determined to celebrate annually the birth-day of that noble champion of liberty, Thomas Paine.

The room was decorated with the portraits of Thomas Paine, Thomas Jefferson, General Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Joel Barlow, Elihu Palmer, and William Tell.

## STEWART'S DISCOURSES.

## DISCOURSE III.

My next and third Discourse will treat of the most important subject of education; to exhibit a new mode by which man may be taught the use of his understanding, as an instrument, to be used with skill—and not a sack, to be stuffed with the rubbish of vain and useless knowledge. A mode of instruction by which the developement of human energy may be excited towards the distinguishing quality of man from brute, perfectibility; and the human species no longer be reared, like cattle, to vegetate, to propagate, and rot in the stalls or schools of custom, prejudice, and lettered knowledge, unaccompanied with a single idea of sagacity or wisdom, truth and manhood: by following the common laws of the fossil, animal, and vegetable world, he may develop his germ into corporeal and mental energy, instead of resembling the crooked plant, by bending back his branches to grow downwards, and rot in the earth in the blight of ignorance and misery.

## ON EDUCATION.

OF all the prodigies of human imbecility and error, nothing strikes the reflective mind with more astonishment than the neglected state of education, the source of all human perfectibility. Brutes, under the government of simple and unerring instinct, rear their young offspring to a state of capacity of subsistence, and then abandon them, because instinct has reached the full extent of its developement. Perfectibility, the peculiar character which distinguishes the human from the brute species, has no limit to its developement; mankind throughout all the periods of history have been alternately in a retrograde and progressive state of meliorated life—while the brute species have been perpetually fixed and stationary, the bees and beavers of the ancient world differ in nothing from the present bees and beavers of the modern world, and no change, either individual or social, has ever taken place among them. Notwithstanding this invaluable quality of perfectibility, mankind seem insensible of its influence, and live in subjection to the laws of brute instinct, which forms an absolute impediment to its developement. The accidental institutions of policy have variegated human action and human condition, but the instinct of ignorant self-love has made man as stationary as the hog in his sty. Sparta, among the Greeks, has made the only effort to burst the shell of instinct and hatch the human embryo to perfectibility, by absorbing domestic relations and kindred affections in the great family of the State: this effect however terminated in producing a dangerous and selfish tribe of soldiers, without at all advancing human perfectibility. Our ancestors,

the Brits and Picts of Great Britain, burst the shell of instinct by absorbing all relations of kindred and property in the union of a tribe, but this, like that of Sparta, formed only a more powerful individuality to carry on warfare and testify the selfish ignorance or impediment of human perfectibility. In the present state of civilization, every effort is made, and rewards offered, to improve our cabbages, our cattle, and our arts, while no attempt whatever is made or reward offered for the improvement of the human race. We continue to follow the blind laws of instinct, to rear our young offspring like the brutes to the capacity of subsistence, without the least view of perfectibility or the dignity of human nature. The various violations of the laws of instinct relative to marriage and to parentage among mankind, which never take place in the sexual and kindred connection of brutes, is a clear demonstration of the exclusive quality of perfectibility in the human species.

This distinguishing characteristic must have its developement in the advancement of intellectual power, generating the quality of sympathy, which expands the relation of self through all the grades of parent, friend, neighbour, species, and genus, to the great body of nature.

If the science of chemistry carries with it knowledge and experience, it demonstrates that all bodies are in a constant and reciprocal circulation of their matter into each other's identities, according to Pope—

“ All are but parts of one stupendous whole ;”

that the matter of the parent at one moment becomes the matter of the child in successive moments; the matter of the master changes into the body of the slave or the horse, and *vice versâ*, both in life and death, and that the actions of all bodies reciprocate good or evil to their material and personal identities, in time and futurity, both morally and physically. All atoms of matter in perpetual circulation alternate their state of agency and patiency, as when a man beats another some proportion of the beating agent changes its atoms into the beaten patient during the action, and suffers pain both in moral sympathy and physical identity. Such transmutation of matter and reciprocity of action exhibit a universal relation of being that transcends all kindred relation as much as the light of the sun transcends and eclipses the stars in the day-time. From this chymical process of nature we form the sublimest precept that ever was conceived, viz. to love your neighbour *because he is yourself*, that is, the relation of man supersedes and involves every other relation, as from the union and aid of our fellow species all the powers, pleasures, and interests, are augmented and perpetuated to self in time and futurity.

Mankind in union, like the torrent, lives,  
Each drop gains force a million what it gives.

Having made these preliminary observations upon the constitution of human nature, I shall now proceed to the subject of my Discourse—education. This word has its etymology from the Latin word *educere*, which signifies to lead forth, that is, to evolve or develope the capacity of things into their energies. In its application to the moral science, it has been confounded with the word *elevate*, which imports simply to rear or bring up to adult age, and such has been the universal course of education which has prevailed through all ages and nations. The Turks rear or bring up their offspring to be Turks; the Chinese to make theirs Chinese; French, English, and Dutch, rear their offspring to local manhood: but the purpose of this Essay is to propose a system of education for the developement of the human characteristic, perfectibility, into universal manhood. To effect this important purpose, we have only to observe the common laws of nature in the developement of its capacities into energy in the animal, fossil, and vegetable world.

The seed developes its capacity through fermentation, germination, pullulation, into its energy fructification; in this manner man is taught to evolve or develope his capacities into the energies of bodily and mental strength. If we approach the garden of human cultivation, called a school, we shall discover that its tendency is to degenerate and not develope human capacity. The body of the child is bent double eight hours out of the twelve repeating noun, pronoun, and participle, which does not excite a single idea in the mind; and if the branches of a plant were to be bent backward into the earth, the laws of nature could not be more violated, and as little fruit could be expected from this mode of cultivation to the plant as of happiness from this preposterous mode of education to man. Religious mystery is also made the soil of intellectual cultivation, and is as contrary to the laws of developement as giving stones instead of earth to the plant. Mystery, from its nature of unintelligibility, demands implicit assent or faith, which opposes the operations of reason in comparing, examining, doubting, and balancing probabilities, and is therefore as heterogeneous to mental cultivation as stone to vegetation.

Religious mystery, which is used as a discipline in society, (whether useful or not to this purpose, I shall not take upon me to decide) I cannot hesitate to pronounce highly injurious in youthful education, because fear is not wanting, and mystery or unintelligibility can never become the medium of developing intellectual power.

I shall be cautious to avoid the errors of modern theorists, whose defective sagacity has not been able to accommodate the practical to the improveable condition of mankind in their rage for innovation. Wisdom or sagacity which discovers proper ends, will also discover proper means to accomplish them, and modify

innovation with the temperance of accommodative reform, suited to the moral, political, and local circumstances of nations.

The age of man may be divided into five stages, as the baby age before speech, the infantive age from speech to puberty, from this, adolescence to virility or adult age. The baby age must be employed in the developement of physical force, with some regard also to the discipline or developement of the moral propensities in disposition, not instruction. Babies should be lightly clothed, with a linen gown in summer, or cotton in winter; the body or members should never be confined, but left free to move in every direction, for this purpose they should be placed on a mattrass, and never in a bed or cradle,

The nurse should suckle them upon this mattrass instead of carrying them in her arms, which is often the cause of deformed members, from unnatural pressure; and the head, too heavy for the support of the neck, gives that round-shouldered, stooping attitude, that debases the erect stature and distinct quality of his species, and fixing his regard or sight downward to a narrow compass of earth, disposes the mind to low, confined, and selfish conceptions.

The baby rolling about unconfined upon this mattrass, would fatigue itself and dispose to sleep, when the noxious concussion of the brain in rocking might be dispensed with. This mattrass should be placed at a great distance from the fire, because children require no factitious heat but that of light clothing accommodated to the elements. Babies should be exposed as much as possible to the air of the atmosphere, because the nervous system draws its best aliment from the vital air, (which in the house is always corrupted) and on its strength depends health, intellect, and longevity. Mothers having been reared by the present false system of education, like plants in a hot-house, are incapable of nursing their children in the open air, and from this disastrous defect the whole human race in civilized life, especially the female part, are fitter to be patients of a hospital than procreators or nurses of children. The confinement of babies and children of all ages to the corrupt air of houses has been so long and old a practice, that experience alone can dictate a reform in this particular, till we might discover the yard or garden to be a more wholesome nursery than the bed-chamber, whose air would be absolutely pestiferous poison if it was not for the chimney-ventilator. Mothers should have stated periods for suckling their babies, and not make the breast an object of amusement, pleasure, and caprice. The great source of all human tyranny and violence originates from the imbecility of the nurse in suckling. The mechanic actions of the lungs in crying is produced often by the uneasy action of the members, and the foolish mother thinks to stop this necessary ventilation of the lungs by the application of the breast. This ignorant action of the mother generates the

first capricious propensity in the mind of the child, and from that moment tyranny dates its birth in the baby disposition.

Every uneasy action in the mechanism of the body is henceforward associated with sucking, and the mother is rendered the slave and victim of weak and irrational affection. Her rest is disturbed all the night, the milk at length grows morbid, sickness ensues, a wet-nurse is called in, and incongenial milk is administered in the same capricious mode to destroy both the mind and the body of the baby. The next defect of baby education, or developement of the human seed into the pullulation of infancy, is the foolish dalliance of nurses and mothers by tossing them suddenly about, surprizing them by sudden jerks and shocks, which do violence to baby nature both in mind and body. The idle practice of alarming curiosity by sudden excitements of the attention to surrounding objects, confuses the mind, and disposes it to slight and trivial observation, besides imposing upon it efforts beyond the capacity of its strength, and consequently injurious to its growth.

Children in the baby age should be left as much as possible in a state of repose, and every dalliance abstained from. Mothers should reflect that they are the gardeners of a plant, whose fructification at adult age into manhood promises their harvest of friendship, joy, comfort, honour, and interest.

The gardener fears to handle with uncouth caresses the tender plants of his nursery; he walks about his grounds and surveys their flourishing progress, without disturbing their tender organism with his touch. His joy is the anticipation of their maturity, as the harvest of his own subsistence. Would it not be wise in mothers to imitate this example, and substitute to the noxious dalliance of instinct the noble expectations of reason; to survey with heart-felt joy the human plants of their nursery in the progress of healthy maturation into manhood, the true harvest of education, as promoting the interest of both parents and offspring.

I know that this dalliance is the only resource of domestic comfort for females when neglected by sottish husbands, who spend their evenings at clubs and taverns. I would not for the world diminish the pleasures of sympathetic, benevolent woman, too cruelly treated both by man and nature; I recommend only the substitution of mental to corporeal dalliance, because I think the pleasing hopes of educating a man would give more joy than the instinctive and noxious dalliance of suckling fools.

The baby age being terminated at the period of five years, infancy then begins, and a new system of developement or education takes place. This infantine stage of education should be conducted in the following manner:—When children are able to use their legs, which they must teach themselves, and not be taught by leading-strings or go-carts, but to raise their bodies by the aid of the wall or the tree, and acquire the power of locomotion.

tion, it would be proper to pay a very critical and sagacious attention to their play with each other, to check the selfish disposition of violence, which should be effected with as little force or injury as possible, by accompanying every act of violence with some inconvenience to the aggressor, the mode of which must be determined by the sagacity of parents. There should be established in every parish preparatory schools for infancy, puerility, and adolescence, of both sexes, under the direction of sagacious tutors. Infants should be grouped or associated according to their ages, and instructed in the discipline of the understanding and the will by means of sports, plays, &c., conducted in the open air during fair weather, and under a shed or open barrack in foul weather. The plays and sports should be adjusted to the ages in their simple or complex rules; the discipline of the will must be exercised in the punctual obedience of rules, and the sagacity of the understanding will be promoted by a skilful execution of those rules to the end of the play. The quality of sagacity in the human mind is nothing more than the capacity of selecting and conducting means to their ends: the present system of education affords it no exercise whatever, for as infancy is chiefly instructed in the knowledge of language, the weak state of intellect can have no conception of the means and end of such a system, and its occupation is nothing but a busy and vain activity in articulating air and impressing it on the memory.

This important and most instructive truth is clearly illustrated in the domestic life of the American back-settlers; their houses being remote from schools, their children are occupied in fishing, tending cattle, cutting wood, or some kind of employment, in which they observe both the end and the means of accomplishment. Such mode of life, contrasted with that of children brought up at town schools, where memory is employed in the mere imitation of modes and manners, or repeating sounds of words and rules of language, which present no intelligible means or ends, while the body is confined in the foul air of a school-room renders the children of settlers more strong and sagacious at the age of ten than town children at the age of fifteen. I shall here offer a most valuable counsel to my auditory, which is, to send their children to be educated by settlers till some proper establishment shall be formed for my improved system of education, by which means, families in towns would receive a great relief in the burthen of domestic expences, and their children would acquire health, cheerfulness, virtue, and sagacity, till the age of puberty, when one year's instruction at a town academy would be sufficient to qualify them for apprenticeship and other professions of life. The present system of education has no tendency whatever to develope or call forth intellectual energy, in which a child, from the age of five to that of fourteen, is placed on a school-bench to repeat, like a parrot, noun, pronoun, verb, parti-

ciple, impressed upon the memory in the mere order of modes, but wholly unintelligible to the infant mind as means and ends of a purpose or system. In this mode of universal school instruction the mind has no exercise but in the faculty of memory; while those of conception, contemplation, judgment, and reason, to examine, compare, and decide upon means and ends, are wholly unemployed; and if it was not for the intercourse of play with each other, and casual employment by their parents in some useful services at home, where they are taught the exercise of sagacity in combining means with ends, in the common purposes of thought and action, the present regimen of school education would render them incurable idiots, and is the real cause of the present state of universal and disgraceful human imbecility, exemplified in personal, moral, and political discord over all the world.

The first and most indispensable rule of education is, never to offer any matter of instruction to the infant mind but that in which both the end and the means of the thing proposed is intelligible and accommodated to the infant capacity. For example, when children in the infantine stage, from five to ten years of age, are taught in the injurious confinement of the school to repeat noun, pronoun, verb, participle, they see no purpose, understand no combination of means and end, and do nothing but repeat the mere impressions of memory without exercising any of the faculties of reason.

When they are instructed in the play-field, the school room of nature, in lessons of sports and plays accommodated to their ages, they observe easily the end proposed, and combine the means of accomplishment, which calls into exercise the proper and feeble efforts of judgment and reason, and generates habits of thought and ratiocination to produce sagacity and wisdom, which discover ends and apply means throughout all the purposes of human existence. The scale of intellectual power is graduated by the capacity of mind to multiply its perceptions in all subjects; this capacity receives no increase of strength from the introduction of science, which excites only the faculty of memory to treasure up the perceptions of other men's minds, and not create any of our own. In plays, sports, and all actions in which the infant mind has an intelligible end to accomplish, it must invent itself the means which calls all the thoughts and faculties into effort, and generates a disposition to thoughtfulness, the source of mental energy or capacity to multiply perceptions, which is denominated sagacity or wisdom.

A modern school-room, in its present discipline, presents such a striking example of human imbecility as exhibits the great buffoon of animal nature. Children of all ages are here fixed to benches bawling out  $a-b$ ,  $ab-b$ ,  $a$ ,  $ba$ —for four hours together, in a mephitic air, with squalid faces and debilitated limbs; and

when the hour of twelve liberates these pestilential prisoners, they exhibit such marks of bestial imbecility in fighting, bickering, lying, and assaulting each other, that savages would blush for them; and when they arrive at the age of manhood they are ripe for faction, despotism, and superstition.

To prevent this buffoonery of prejudice, (by imbuing the human mind with sagacity) the discipline of education should offer health and exercise, to develop the powers of the body in sports and plays in the open air; and in the conduct of these the infant mind would be instructed in intelligible means and ends to improve sagacity. Book lessons exhibiting no intelligible end or purpose, give exercise to memory alone—while simple games expose the combination of means and ends to exercise judgment.

A groupe of children playing at hunt the slipper, or bait the bear, would observe the end of their occupation, and apply the means to accomplish it through rules and laws, which would dispose the will to subordination and the mind to reason, becoming the dignity of a free citizen—and not the slavish, ignorant propensity imbued by the capricious and unreasoned despotism of a pedagogue. The age of infancy past, and puerility begun at the age of ten, it would be proper to form a more complicate system of plays and sports, in which reading and writing might be taught, not with books, but wooden letters, placed at certain goals, whose game should be that of discovering letters and placing them together to signify words useful and intelligible to children. They might be taught to write upon the sand, and this conducted by some game which the tutor should be able to invent. Above all, they should be instructed in mechanic arts, as making baskets, straw hats, &c.; this exercise would prepare them for useful trades, and instead of being useless blockheads for seven years to waste and spoil materials, they would become skilful journeymen in one year, besides being sober, honest, skilful, and obedient servants. I have tried experiments upon the sagacity of children during the vacation of what is called holidays, and in less than a month, by means of a few simple games at cards, I have imbued the mind with more powers of sagacity than had been developed by ten years schooling.

Children, when bound apprentices, should not be suffered to work after twelve o'clock or noon, but must be sent to the adolescent academy to enjoy the benefit of air, exercise, and academic instruction, that they may become good soldiers in bodily vigour, good citizens in the discipline of the will and the understanding, and good men in the ultimate developement of human perfectibility. The age of puerility passed, at fourteen that of adolescence commences, which should be tutored at the academy; here the system of education should extend itself to studies of profession, as law and physic, and such a proportion of knowledge should be given to the mind as may be necessary for the formation of a man

or citizen. The economy of academic instruction should be suited to the increased energy of adolescence; the plays and sports should be more complicate and ingenious; the athletic exercises should be more vigorous, to develop the strength of the body; and the discipline of the mind and will should commence their explanation and exercise.

Here lectures on the sciences should be given in a practical, competent, and familiar manner; the mathematics should be taught in the mensuration of the height of a tree, or the distance of objects, which would explain immediately the means and ends of system, instead of fatiguing and perplexing the adolescent mind with unintelligible theorems, applied to no end or practice, in the jargon of asymptotes, parabolic sections, and infinites. Geography might be explained with an orange to all the purposes of manly knowledge. Chymistry might be explained with a few simple experiments, to give the manufacturer and farmer all the useful competency of its knowledge to improve the arts and manure the soil. History might be explained, not as an empty table of chronology and fable; but as a volume of moral experience to teach the study of man where such events alone should be noticed as formed links in the great chain of cause and effect of human policy. Lectures on politics might limit themselves to the ample page of American or British history, without going back to the remote ages of antiquity, when the circumstances and characters of nations bear no relation or similitude to the modern state of man.

Language should be taught, not in the vain and pompous rules of rhetoric, but in the elocution of truth and candour, to give the same competent form to thought as thought is capable of giving to things; by such instruction all the pride and vanity of logical quibble would be destroyed, and men searching after the same object of truth, would light each other, as those neighbours do who are looking after something lost in the night, and all become enquirers.

The education of the academy should avoid that proficiency of universal science which has prevailed in all the academies of Europe to the destruction of sagacity and wisdom. Men of learning and classical education in Europe are rendered almost idiots by a proficiency in all sciences. The astronomer would be ashamed to be ignorant of any parts of chemistry; the chemist of astronomy; the physician must be acquainted intimately with both, and they must reciprocally study physic. The historian would be ashamed to be unacquainted with any science, and scientific men would be ashamed to ask the historian at what time Alexander crossed the Hellespont. Thus every scientific man pursues a universal proficiency in all sciences, and his memory is so stuffed with the record of other men's ideas that he has no room to receive, or exercise to form an idea of his own,

which accounts for the defective state of human sagacity and wisdom. The age of adolescence being terminated, and spent at the academy, those individuals who are intended for the professions of law, physic, surgery, and science, will remove to the university, where these sciences should be taught with proficiency. The economy of instruction at the university must follow the example of the preparatory schools, and attend to the development of bodily and mental energy in sports, plays, and athletic exercise, suited in complexity and strength to advancing age. Conversations of inventive genius should be held in every kind of science, excepting the moral science, or study of man and nature, which must be deferred to adult age. When man, having discovered the laws of intellectual power, shall dare to arraign his instincts at the bar of reason, he will discover that erudition has no application whatever to youth, and that it relates only to the adult man. The steer does not receive the yoke, nor the colt the bit, till his adult force is consummate, lest his powers should be debilitated by precocious efforts of juvenility, and I see no reason why an opposite system should take place in the education of man, but a necessitated compliance with the unhappy condition of human society, which has dictated this Lecture as a compromise with custom and prejudice, far removed from the criterion of nature. The necessities of subsistence oblige man to be a doctor of science at the age of sixteen, and to be harnessed, like a juvenile steer, to the vehicle of law, physic, and science. He draws only with his memory, and not his judgment, over which the pedagogue has no power, for if he had a course of complete education in the precocious exercise of judgment, it would make him an incurable idiot.

My system of natural education is calculated, through the pleasurable emotions of sport and play to create a disposition of virtue in the will, and a disposition to the exercise of judgment, rather than a forced instruction of their principles and systems ill-suited and injurious to juvenile capacities. In the influence of sport and play, by its pleasurable emotions, a high degree of attention is excited, in this state every faculty is awakened, and the rules and ends of games being fixed in the memory, dispose the mind to a harmony and sagacity of conduct without imposing upon the infant mind precepts and principles too recondite and difficult for comprehension. The moral science being founded on doubt, and the fleeting relations of conditional approximations, must not be offered to the juvenile mind, because the labour of thought in the difficult equations would overwhelm and break down its constitution like the crossing of a young colt before its physical strength was formed. I was astonished on my arrival in this country at the extreme neglect of rule in the play of American children. Marbles, trap-ball, foot-ball, which in the old countries are games of strict discipline in this country, are a

chaos of licentious action without rule, order; and without system. This neglect of discipline and rule at play gives to the mind a disposition of insubordination, and a want of respect from the individual to the public at large, which marks the American character with the defect of the most important principle of freedom. Respect the public will. I have seen boys at New York drive every body from the pavement with their hoops, and a few individuals at the playhouse standing upon the front seat, deprive the whole audience of a sight of the scene. The public in the old country would not suffer such contempt.

The female education should follow the same plan with that of the male, only conducted by matrons in separate schools, and in different occupations of spinning, weaving, and sewing, but the developement of the bodily and mental powers must differ in nothing but less athletic modes of exercise. Parents procreate children from the pure impulse of sensual pleasure, but if they would regard them as objects of future friendship and comfort and happiness, they must not treat them as dolls of dalliance, but as embryos of manhood. They must educate them in the developement of bodily and mental energy, that they may perpetuate a healthy and happy race of human beings to perpetuate the species in a state of well-being and perfectibility.

There is no part of human conduct that argues so strongly the imbecility of human intellect as the errors of education. Children confined to the house or school of letters, all developement of their mental and bodily powers is absolutely suppressed. Bodily infirmity, at adult age, makes them the victims of medical quackery, and the imbecility of their understandings, bloated with memory, and void of sagacity, makes them the dupes of lawyers, priests, and demagogues, and social life in the aggregation of such mis-educated idiots, becomes a sense of alternate anarchy, folly, superstition, and despotism.

Education, applied to man, corresponds to the laws of vegetable life in its developement of the seed, the plant, the tree, the blossom, and the fruit.

The subordinate and primary stages of baby infancy, puerility, adolescence, and manhood, correspond in their order to eruption, germination, pullulation, plant, and tree. The vegetation of the tree corresponds to the organism of society, its blossoms to colonization, and its fruit to sects of perfectible manhood.

This improved system of education, formed to develop human energy, according to the laws of nature, is most indispensable to the salvation of the human species at the present awful crisis of social life, when knowledge, in the easy, constant, and universal intercourse of nations by means of the printing press, makes it impossible for personal or assumed power to maintain henceforth order in society, without a very general consent and strong aid from a great proportion of its population. To effect this impor-

tant purpose, the establishment of social order, with the aid of numbers, the present system of school education, is totally inadequate to produce the necessary quality of civic knowledge among the people, because it treats the human understanding as as a sack of memory to be filled with the useless rubbish of pompous science, instead of being exercised as an instrument of reason and sagacity, to discover the delicate means and complicated ends of the moral science or study of man and nature, the indispensable knowledge of every Republican. The vain literature of the poet, the logician, and the historian, or the dogma of science, disqualify the mind for the doubtful equations and fleeting relations of means and ends in the moral science. These can be taught only by my new discipline of education, substituting sagacity to science, calculated to meet the present awful crisis of imminent anarchy with the same opportuneness displayed in the story of the ark prepared to meet the deluge. The guardians of civil life, schooled in the knowledge of letters, and the stupefying exercise of memory, have betrayed a total incapacity to govern the multitude, and man is imperiously called to the management of his estate in almost an infantine minority of his reason, and thus a revolution of sentiment, rather than of power, has been produced, that, without the discoveries of these Lectures, would have brought the human species into an irretrievable state of barbarism. The great purpose of education, understood as the developement of human capacity into its energies, is to form good habitudes and aptitudes, upon which all happiness depends. The views of ambition, debauchery, and avarice, are all acquired habitudes repugnant to happiness. Their impulses become imperious wants which must be appeased, rather than pleasures to be gratified. Whenever fortitude shall enable the ambitious to try an experiment of moderation, he will find an increase of independence, peace, and joy, in the change of habitude. The drunkard will find more cheerfulness in temperance than excess, and the miser will find more joy in liberality than sordidness. Such habitudes, generated by a natural system of education, will wage perpetual war with the errors of political institutions, and force them into the regular order of human developement as the sap forces the plant to shoot its stem upward, and assume the mechanism of fructification. Having exhibited the economy of education to produce the tree of individual manhood, I shall now consider its progress in the organism of society to produce fructification or human perfectibility. All forms of human association at present existing, possess only greater or lesser degrees of developement in trunk, branches, and leaves, but none seem to have the capacity of fructification, or the maturation of human perfectibility. The nations of civic life, as Great Britain and America, shoot forth their luxuriant branches into wide spreading twigs of Colonies, but these must circulate the sap or laws of

the parent trunk, and nothing but the same wild and imperfectible fruit can be produced.

The organism of civic life permits the establishment of sectarian societies to abstain from every comfort, and suffer every torture of mind and body to conciliate the friendship of an imaginary demon, and permits such idiots to renounce all personal services to the state.

Should a society of rational beings form an enterprize to multiply the pleasures and happiness of human nature by a deviation from the established laws and customs, while they maintained the strictest allegiance to rational services, such an essay of perfectibility to blossom and fructify, would be blighted by the penal laws of every nation. Hence we discover that political organism of every kind is hostile to human perfectibility, and seems constituted rather to keep the human species in its infant state of reason than to aid its progress. In the crowded state of European population, the establishment of a sect to multiply the pleasures, freedom, reason, and happiness of man might give a violent shock by its powerful influence on the general order of society, if conducted with public authority, but this consideration would not apply to private and secret establishments, like those of ancient Christianity, which were tolerated by every government till they broke forth into publicity. A late attempt in England to establish a sect of perfectibility in one of the South Sea Islands exhibited the first and most stupendous effort of human energy. Fifty individuals, male and female, had associated with an intention to make every effort of institutional experiment that could discover moral truth, or the improveable relations of man and nature to accomplish the highest possible state of well-being. They were sensible that however science or theory might direct speculation nothing but experience could ascertain the practical condition of human felicity. That the desires and passions being the effect of education and custom, they could be regulated only by social institutions, and that no revelation of homilies, ethics, or creeds, could have any effect upon the human character, formed by education, and conducted by example, laws, custom, and prejudice.

What perfectible institutions these exalted human beings had proposed we are not informed, because the establishment by some unforeseen event was unhappily frustrated, and with it the first essay of human perfectibility postponed to some more auspicious period. If the old tree of civic life in England was capable of producing this first bud of human perfectibility, what may we not expect from the stupendous tree of American confederacy in Republican Liberty, whose constitution carries in its essence the germ of human perfectibility. In this country every new township that is established grows up in solitude and retirement. Whatever new moral institutions might be established in oppo-

sition to existing laws of the confederacy if they produced wise, happy, vigorous, and virtuous citizens, to enjoy life, and defend that confederacy of states on whom their own security depended, not a voice would be heard to criminate ; but a universal shout of applause would hail the dawn of perfectible life. The education or developement of social organism has been carried to its highest state of energy in America. Property, which is the universal pursuit of man in the present undisciplined state of reason, has been diffused and equalized to the great mass of the community. Property thus generalized and diffused has formed civil power into a pyramid, the strongest mode of fabric, and placed the base on the great number of population, which no shock of partial interest or opinion can effect.

In this firm state of social organism no jealousy of power, no suspicion of treachery, no fears of innovation can alarm. The unity of interest, the simplicity of policy, and the power of the people constitute a pledge of protective security and guardianship, which qualifies the confederacy of the United States to be the great tree of civic life, from whose trunk scions of perfectible sects may be taken and planted under the protective shade of its authority.

At the present awful crisis of human existence a spurious kind of philosophy, discovering ends without means, or theory without practice, has awakened vulgar observation, unaccompanied with contemplation. The great mass of the people are instigated in all countries to demand liberty and equality, that is to share property and power in equal and universal proportion. What will be the result of this moral fermentation in Europe is difficult and awful to predict.

In America the pyramid of civil power stands like a rock in the sea, secure from the popular tempest upon the basis of natural equality. Industry invites the partizan of equality to occupy his share of landed property, and to indulge every propensity of innovation without any risk of social order by retiring to remote settlements. The improving progress of political institutions as they promote or effect the means of education, or the development of individual and social energy into perfectibility, require an exhibition, or analysis of their economy. When the first germ of avarice appears in the human heart man quits the savage state and enters into the pastoral, and as the seed pullulates it progresses through all the stages of agrestic, scientific, and civic life. In the savage state, where avarice has no existence, property is unknown and government is unnecessary. In the pastoral state, property being abundant and equally diffused, a patriarchal chiefship suffices to protect it. In agrestic life, property becomes scarce and monopolized, and despotic power is necessary for its protection. In scientific life, the various nations have a government accommodated to the state of property. Among the

shepherds of the Alps democracy is suited to the equalized state of property, as monarchy to the monopolized property of other states. Among those nations, where commerce prevails, to diffuse property, aristocracy is established, as in Holland, the Hanse Towns, Genoa, Venice &c. The populous nations of France, Spain, Germany, &c. have a territorial monopoly, which overwhelms that of commerce, and requires for its protection unlimited monarchy. In England territorial and commercial property diffused to a vast extent among the population requires the establishment of mixed government, which generates a state of civil liberty, constitutional government, and civic life, the liberty of the press, diffuses enlightened philosophic sentiments. These instigate to enterprize and action, and social education commences in the establishment of colonies on emigration of sects. These emigrations have carried social and individual education, the first to its acmé in the stupendous confederacy of the free States in America, and the last to its germ or commencement in the theories of new social institutions to generalize the natural relations of man, and make them supersede all those of instinct, law, and custom.

In America, territorial property having assumed an extensive diffusion to the whole of its population, an optimacy of elective government has been established as equivalent to its protection, and carrying civic life to its acme. The absolute liberty of the press will soon summons, in a voice of thunder, and with the evidence of the meridian sun, mankind to advance towards the perfectibility of their nature.

The inhabitants of this country are at present absorbed in the pursuit of property, as the supposed means of happiness, in the provision of the noxious aliment and empty toys of luxury. The laborious settler levels the wilderness, removes rocks, and drains oceans, and the painful toil of a year is all thrown away upon European baubles of vanity, to destroy the health of the mind, or upon barrels of whiskey to destroy the strength and health of the body. Books, knowledge, intelligence, sagacity, are no objects of pursuit. The little leisure which the toil of luxury leaves the former is occupied by the priest, the lawyer, and the demagogue; and instead of profiting of the exalted predicament of his country to advance towards the perfectibility of his nature, he appears to retrograde into savage life with all the desires, vices, and ignorance of civilization. Vice, luxury, and ignorance, though raging in the old country with a more rapid progress than in this country, yet there is a great mass of the population who may be said to live, and not merely to exist, for the purpose of bartering toil with the poisons and vanities of luxury. These individuals, supported by a competent revenue, which they have no desire, and no occupation to increase, employ their dignified leisure to study, travel, converse, and think. Their minds pro-

gressing daily in sagacity and sympathy, sentiment is maturing into action; and I have no doubt, but in a very short time, if the social order of England is not destroyed by revolution or conquest, that emigrations of perfectible manhood will take place to some of the South Sea Islands, and I should regard the departure of such an important enterprize as the most momentous event that ever illumined the dark annals of human history, and the only dignified era to date human existence.

Having shewn the extent of political power, or national organism, to be incompatible in its own body towards the advancement of perfectibility, I shall consider the developement of its germ in the union and emigration of sects and individuals. The character of perfectibility must commence with individual reform. Reason must first be brought to a state of discipline, as also the will according to the instruction of these Lectures.

When this discipline has been learnt, the perfectible individual will be enabled, through sagacity, to choose the ends and means of well-being on the criterion of calculative reason triumphing over instinct. His food will be calculated in simplicity as the best means of health. His clothing will be accommodated as the means of comfort, and not the vanity of show. His lodging will be appropriated to comfort and society, where cheerfulness, mirth, pleasure, and good sense, will fill up the measure of actual enjoyment, and prepare the advancement of perfectibility. He will abstain from all seditious attempts of innovation on the immoveable body politic, and confine all his energy to the bosom of his association or sect. When this sect shall have ascertained by experience that every individual member has a concinnate temperament to form the edifice of perfectibility, like the bricks fitted to the arch, they may then go forth to establish their colony of perfectible man according to such institutions as experience will discover to be the best means of promoting liberty, pleasure, health, strength, and happiness.

I have avoided dictating any specific institutions, because all remote theories carry in them a disgusting aspect. I have, therefore, confined my instruction to the inceptive energy of education. Luther, by discovering the superstitious errors of popery, opened a road to the emancipation of reason from the thralldom of all superstition. The Whigs of England who exploded the divine rights of kings, have opened the road of progress to improveable civic life. In the same manner I have dared to arraign the presumptive wisdom of those ages that had adopted and established such ridiculous errors in politics and religion, and to doubt whether their domestic institutions are not the result of the same instructive imitation and credulity.

These institutions of domestic life are the main spring of all human energy, and must be brought to the great standard of nature, experience, in order to ascertain moral truth, or the most

just and most general relations of things to direct the instrument of man in its co-operation with the mechanism of the universe, to augment the good, and diminish the evil of the sensitive system in time and futurity. If we appeal to the experience of history, we shall observe the astonishing effects of domestic institutions made by various religious sects upon false principles of superstition, what may we not hope when such efforts of perfectibility shall be made on the principles of reason.

We every day witness new associations of brotherhood to relieve widows, orphans, and distressed members, and who can ascertain the limits of such individual combinations of human power to multiply the sum of energy and happiness. We see what is done by the mechanism of unintelligent elements, as wind, wood, and water. These are brought to saw a board, or weave a piece of cloth, and shall the intelligent agency of man be despaired of in the mechanism of his own powers to produce well-being or happiness when the discipline of his reason shall be acquired through the discovery of the laws of intellectual power as exhibited in these Lectures.

I shall conclude this discourse on education with recommending to the notice of my auditory the peculiar character which distinguishes my philosophy of reason and nature from all the wild theories of modern and ancient speculators. I appeal my theories to the best of individual, and not national reform. One single child educated after my system would do no great injury to society if the experiment should be unsuccessful. In the same manner a small sect of individuals making new experiments of social institutions, accommodated to their moral temperament and physical condition of improving thought and sympathy, their failures would introduce no disorder in the body of society.

Prompted by no motive but that of wise self-interest in time and futurity, I imitate the sagacious conduct of a farmer who devotes a small corner of his field to experiment, and if that succeeds he transfers it to the whole farm. Nicknamed philosophers, imposed upon by the vanity of applause, and the ignorance of self-love, address their theories to nations, and, according to the allegory, try the experiment of new cultivation upon the farm instead of the field, and famine and misery accompany the failure.

My theories direct the developement or education of the human plant in bud, blossom, and fruit, according to the seasons, and thus to prosper in fructification. Vain and ignorant theorists in the hot bet of seditious innovation force the blossom to appear out of season, and blight and destruction seize on the human plant.

My new mode of education, uniting theory and practice, offers the only means to reduce the moral world from contingency to

system, by developing the energy of man through the instruction of sagacity, instead of science, to accommodate the means of actual good to the ends of perfectible good in the moral science.

The technical powers of intellect advanced by science, produce but little excellence between nations and individuals, which, like the waves of the ocean, overwhelm each other by the preponderance of physical force in competition. The essential power of intellect produced by the education of sagacity, would exalt human excellence in the highest degree of reason over instinct and nations, possessing the discipline of mind in sagacity would govern those of mere technical or scientific intellect as man governs the brute.

The discipline of reason proposed in my new system of education would generate that wisdom, sympathy, and fortitude of temperament, which made the union of small bodies of sagacious individuals a colossal force that no unsympathetic, thoughtless multitude could resist, and thus nations, in the parallel of their advancement to perfectibility, would become invincible, and thereby secure the advancement of the moral world from contingency to permanent and progressive system. To avoid all intemperate and discouraging innovation, I recommend no other change in the present school systems than to regulate study and play in alternate order of an hour each, at which the master must be present to make games and sports, the proper medium to discipline the will and the understanding, as explained in these Lectures by imbruing the capacity and disposition of virtue and sagacity, without embarrassing the juvenile mind with their theory.

This system of education is most auspiciously calculated to meet the circumstances of the American people. The school, the academy, the university, with their Greek and Latin, cannot make citizens, or men of a wide, diffused, industrious population, whose subsistence absorbs all their leisure. A sensible parent instructed by the simple laws of intellectual power, diffused by Lectures at the meeting-house, must become the sagacious pedagogue of his family in the woods to teach them in frequent conversation the skilful use of the understanding in sagacity, to detect the complicated and fleeting means and ends of the moral science in the study of man and nature, and not the pompous trifles of literature, which stuff the memory and destroy the judgment, making the pupil a mere babbler of words and mimic of other men's thoughts, with no capacity to think for himself. Conversation, I know from experience, to be the most powerful and easy mean of developing intellectual energy. A man may employ a whole life of study, and after impressing all the libraries in the world upon his memory, he may increase the activity or technical powers of mind, and, at the same time, diminish the essential powers of sagacity and wisdom. I do not know a single book in existence,

except my own works, written for the special purpose of teaching wisdom, instead of science, whose reading would not diminish rather than augment the essential powers distinguished from the technical powers of the understanding.

A French book, called, *The System of Nature*, liberates the mind from all theological errors, but it teaches a more baneful superstition of infinite necessity and eternal sleep. Bolingbroke's *First Philosophy* has great comparative merit, though the puerile understanding of Pope has much obscured and confounded its truth in the rhyme and metre of his *Essay on Man*.

I will venture a bold and uncommon sentiment, unconscious of the least hyperbole, that a man of sense in possession of the essential instead of the technical powers of intellect, would be able, in a few month's conversation, to form his pupil into the all-accomplished man, without the least reference to books, authorities, or reminiscent science. His mind would develop ideas that no libraries could suggest, and his conversation would explain and apply them to ends and means of human life and human perfectibility far beyond the capacity of schools and pedagogues.

I will sum up the whole of my system of education in two impressive and important maxims. Educate youth to health and strength, disposing them by example, rather than precept, to cheerfulness, benevolence, and sagacity, in the pleasurable emotions of sport and play. Teach the adult man only to think; that is, to use skilfully his understanding in the discipline of the thoughts and faculties, that he may become an American citizen, the guardian, protector, and accomplisher of the first experiment and last asylum of human liberty, happiness, and perfectibility, in the sublime constitution of an organized confederacy of nations that has made the moral emulate the harmony of the physical world in the solar system, by bringing greater and lesser nations to revolve on one common centre of unity, and thus to form an indestructible base to the edifice of social energy, which, conducted by temperate reform, after the model of the spiral diagram, may revolve on the practical centre of actual good, and advance at the same time to the vertex of perfectible good in the narrowing circles of sects and colonies.

This diagram forms the long sought criterion of moral truth, not in empty precept to love your neighbour as yourself, but by wise policy to make him an indispensable part of self, as self of nature.